1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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582 585 gifts and dowry, goes through or past several other villages, drawing crowds of people as it passes. To the villagers this is all exciting and something which should be part of a marriage. At the occasional marriage between two Hsin Hsing villagers, the wedding procession with sedan chairs, dowry, and music goes along a regular route through two neighboring villages and back to Hsin Hsing. Villagers do not consider this quite as stimulating.

582 578 606 The preference for marriage beyond the village limits also rests on the feeling that it is not a good thing to have one's in-laws too close or to have the bride in too close proximity to her parents' home. When the two families live nearby, there is too much opportunity for bad feeling to develop between them. When the two families are in the same village, every detail of how the daughter-in-law is treated by her husband's family immediately reaches her own family, and it is far too easy for the girl to run home with complaints about every hardship, real or imaginary, in her new family. This sort of thing can easily cause interfamily conflict. In intravillage marriages in Hsin Hsing there have also been instances where a daughter-in-law has spent too much time in her old home, helping her mother instead of always being available in her husband's house to do whatever work is asked of her. Of the twelve marriages between Hsin Hsing families, relations between the two families in five cases were not considered good for a variety of such reasons.

582 584 626 Another factor favoring marriage outside the village is the village parents' fear of gossip about the cirrcumstances of the marriage. If both families live in Hsin Hsing village there is a good chance that the boy and girl knew each other before marriage; this in itself is considered improper, and people are very likely to say that this was a "love marriage" forced upon the two families because the young couple had been secretly seeing each other and having sexual intercourse. When one hears village discussions of marriages which have taken place between Hsin Hsing villagers, one gets the idea that almost all of them have been the result of a secret love affair. Such secret affairs do usually force the two families to agree eventually to a union between the two young people. Thus, in most instances, neither the couple nor their parents will willingly discuss the reasons for an intravillage marriage. When they do, they usually say that the marriage was arranged because both families felt the boy and the girl were well suited. They feel it is necessary to defend such a marriage from the inevitable talk. Family members usually remark that they had firsthand knowledge, without needing the word of a matchmaker, that the girl would be a good worker and an asset to the family. However, no matter what reasons are given, other villagers openly discuss the matter, often good-naturedly teasing those involved and making jokes about the "real" basis for the marriage.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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582 Hsing village the number of cousin marriages of any kind is small.
582 Rather than cousin marriage, Hsin Hsing villagers prefer marriage
612 with an outsider of no blood or previous affinal connection, i.e., with a
571 family with which they do not already have a *ch'in ch'i* relationship, as was explained above. This results from their strong desire to extend their circle of family or *ch'in ch'i* relationships to new families in other villages with whom there is *no* prior *ch'in ch'i* relationship.

582 As several people of the area pointed out, "the villagers prefer to
584 arrange marriages between families whose relationships are good." Al-
612 though they think it may be all right to let their children marry a relative (*ch'in ch'i*) if the relationship between the families is good, at the same time they are not particularly interested in arranging such a marriage and usually do *not* do so. There are many villagers who have stronger feelings on the subject and think it unwise to arrange a marriage with the family of a *ch'in ch'i*, since "they are afraid bad *kan-ch'ing* may develop between the two families if the daughter-in-law and her husband's family do not get along well." They do not want to risk endangering an already good *ch'in ch'i* relationship. As long as the two families are on good terms, they think it is wise to leave well enough alone, and this added to their preference for building new *ch'in ch'i* relationships through marriage outside the village provide strong support for outside marriages.

582 As already mentioned there are some marriages between cousins,
601 however, in the Hsin Hsing area. When it comes to cousin marriage, though, there are very definite opinions as to which forms are acceptable and which are not. There are three possible kinds, though they are not equally regarded: (1) patrilateral cross-cousin marriage (*ku piao hsiang ch'in*); (2) matrilateral cross-cousin marriage (*ku piao hsiang ch'in*)—in Hsin Hsing, at least, these first two elements (*ku piao*) are again used rather than those of *chiu piao*, as sometimes reported by anthropologists for mainland China areas and other parts of Taiwan;[9] and (3) matrilateral parallel-cousin marriage (*i piao hsiang ch'in*). Patrilateral parallel-cousin marriage is, of course, out of the question because both young people bear the same surname.

582 In a patrilateral cross-cousin marriage a young man marries the
626 daughter of his father's sister, bringing her back to live in the home
591 of her mother's brother. She now bears the same surname her mother
551 had before marriage and belongs to the same kinship group; worse, in
835 village opinion, her husband and her mother in this sense share the same name. The relationship is felt to be so close that the marriage is almost incestuous. Such marriages are thus frowned upon, and people talk about and criticize the two families for making such arrangements. Some people even believe that when the blood ties between
827 families are so close, the children born of the union are likely to be

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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girl is already accustomed to the ways of the house, and has probably developed a mother-daughter relationship with the wife of the *chia chang*.

At the time of adoption, the family may have no intention of bringing up a wife for their son, although they may change their minds later. Whereas an apparently definite distinction between simple adoption and adopting a girl as a future wife for a son in the *sioasiv* system of marriage (discussed below) was made by Fei's mainland China Kaihsienkung villagers (1939:53–55), in the Hsin Hsing village area no distinction based on reason for adoption need be made when the girl is adopted. A girl adopted to be a daughter may later be married to the family's son, and a girl adopted as a future wife for a son may ultimately be married out just as if she were the adoptive family's own daughter. And whatever the original intent of the adoption, or what kind of marriage is eventually arranged for her, the girl is usually treated very much as if she were a natural daughter of the family that adopted her. It is for this reason that I have treated both kinds of adoption under the same general heading.

A family which offers its daughter for adoption must usually give the adopting family a payment of "milk money" at the time of adoption, whether the girl is to be a regular daughter or the future wife of a son of the new family. Both the natal and adopting families consider themselves to be *ch'in ch'i* as a result of the adoption. In fact, when the girl reaches marriageable age the adopting family will frequently consult with her natal family about the potential husband and the marriage negotiations. In many such instances the affinal relationships then become a three-way affair between the girl's natal family, the adopting family, and her husband's family.

When the girl is definitely being adopted into a family as a servant, her family will often be given some money as recompense for the loss of her services. In these cases, the girl is usually at least eight or nine when adopted, old enough to be immediately trained and do useful work in her new home. The Chinese law in Taiwan recognizes such adoptions; however, it recognizes the girls as adopted daughters (*yang nu*), not servants, and stipulates that they must be well treated and be married out at marriageable age. When a girl is adopted to be a servant, there is obviously little likelihood that the two families will maintain a *ch'in ch'i* relationship, since the adoption is recognized as a purely business transaction. Such adoptions are no longer as common as they used to be, although they still take place among some rich, rural people. The sister of the former large landlord in Hsin Hsing had been "given such a girl as a wedding present." The practice is especially common in market towns and cities where girls are "sold" to wealthy families as servants or where they are adopted by a family to be hired out to houses of prostitution or bars.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Both of these factors, the increased number of females and the improved financial conditions, mean that brides are both easier to find and easier to afford. As a result, *sioasiv* adoptions are less and less frequent, and girls originally adopted under the system tend more and more to be married out. Contributing to this latter tendency is the increasingly open opposition of young people to having their marriage partners imposed upon them arbitrarily by their parents. The opposition is likewise made possible by the improvement in economic opportunity for young people, in this instance by the growing ease of urban migration.

Probably some dislike for the system has always been present among the young people for whom *sioasiv* marriages were arranged. From the time of adoption the girl is treated as a member of the family—in other words, like a daughter, not a daughter-in-law. In the Hsin Hsing area, when the marriage is definitely decided upon the young couple are apprised of it. The girl is usually in her early teens at this point. Suddenly, then, the young people are confronted by a change in their relationship; no longer are they brother and sister, but potentially man and wife, with a whole new set of behavior and attitude patterns to absorb. At the very best, the situation is awkward for them. Much like a normal engaged couple, they develop an avoidance relationship; they may no longer remain alone in the same room and show increasing embarrassment in each other's presence, especially when others are around. If they are seen together anywhere, they are usually subjected to a good deal of teasing by friends and neighbors as well as their relatives. And, living in the same household, the pressure of maintaining the avoidance pattern is much greater than anything ever experienced by the usual engaged couple, who may scarcely know each other by sight before the wedding day. The couple entrapped by the *sioasiv* system undergo constant embarrassment, and as a result they often develop a resentment against each other that culminates in a strong preference for marriage to someone else entirely.

Formerly, the young people could not easily or openly express their opposition to the match, since they had almost no option but to do exactly what their families and elders had planned for them. Furthermore, they knew that if a *sioasiv* marriage had been arranged for them, this was usually because there was no other form of marriage possible, given their circumstances.

The recent demographic and economic changes in Taiwan have radically changed things for such young people. Now, thanks to the decreased necessity for such adoption marriages and the concomitant increase in economic opportunity for the young, they are increasingly able to express their opposition to a system which is not consistent with the modern tendency for allowing young people a much greater say in the choice of their marriage partners.

In Hsin Hsing, for example, one current reason why *sioasiv* adop-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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tions less often lead to marriage is that the girl objects to marrying the family's son and insists on being allowed to marry outside her adoptive family. The more equal balance of the sexes and the increased economic opportunities for outside work, even in the rural towns beyond the obvious opportunities of urban migration, have given the young people a mobility never possible before, in addition to loosening the family's economic hold on them. An unwilling young woman or man can now threaten to go to the city to work if a projected marriage is for any reason distasteful. And even if the family, by extreme coercion, should attempt to force through a *siaosiv* system marriage, the young people now have a further protection, since such forced marriage arrangements are not upheld by law.

The changed economic situation with its concomitant effects on mobility and increased independence from the traditional authority of the family makes it possible for young people to resist prearranged marriages as they were never able to do before. It seems likely that these factors underlie the apparent decrease in the number of marriages between son and adopted daughter.

### *Adoption of a Son*

The kind of family most likely to adopt a son is generally one which has no sons of its own. The fears of such people that there will be no one to take care of them in their old age or to worship them after death, or to furnish descendants to carry on the family line, are the basic reasons for such adoptions. This kind of adoption is still common on Taiwan, in urban as well as rural areas. For example, during our stay in Taipei, my own family had a servant from the mainland. She was childless, divorced, and saw little chance that she would be able to remarry. Thus, when she was about thirty years old she adopted a three-year-old boy, boarding him with friends while she worked. Her explanation was that she would need someone to take care of her in later years and to worship her after she died.

A family willing to give up a son for adoption is usually under the pressure of financial necessity and has more than one son. The necessity must be serious, since a family "selling" its son for adoption gives up all claim to him. The adopting family gives the boy's family money for him, and the villagers say, "When a son is adopted out, it is like cutting off one's finger" and, further, "when one sells [adopts out] a son, one no longer has any relations with him" (*"Mai tzu wu yu tzu chiao"*). The family adopting the boy naturally wants his entire loyalty, the kind of familial closeness their own son would have had. For this reason, not only are his ties to his natal home supposed to be completely broken but the age of adoption of boys is as young as possible, at least below the age of four. In Hsin Hsing there were only

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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village orchestra plays amid banners wishing each man luck and a speedy return or general congratulations on going into the army. These banners are sent by *ch'in ch'i* and friends, and the number of banners each man receives is often considered an indication of his family's popularity. The villagers form a procession and accompany the draftees for more than two miles to the *hsiang* Public Office where young men from several villages meet to be taken away to the army camp in government trucks. The departure of men to the army is thus made into a rather grand and colorful occasion. The villagers report that this tradition began during Japanese times, and it bears many similarities to Embree's (1939:195–203) description of such celebrations in Suye Mura.

The two years or so of military service are full of new experiences for many of the village boys, since it is their first opportunity to travel to other parts of Taiwan and come in constant contact with men from other areas of the island as well as mainlanders. But once his term of military service is over, a man usually returns to his earlier occupation and, if he is single, he can expect to have a marriage arranged for him soon after his discharge. The activities of these ex-service men in civilian life are not noticeably different from what they were before military service.

## MARRIAGE

Today, in Taiwan the average age for marriage is twenty-four for men and twenty-two for women by Chinese reckoning. Before the 1950's the ages at marriage were two years younger: twenty-two and twenty. The obvious reason for this change is military conscription. Usually, men enter the army when they are twenty-two, and although this is still considered the proper age for a man to marry, families with sons about to be called into service tend to postpone marriage arrangements. In most cases they prefer not to have the son marry, enter the army, and leave the new daughter-in-law behind, since the villagers feel that the son should be present, especially early in a marriage, to establish the wife in habits of good behavior and obedience. In general, while the mother-in-law holds authority over her daughters-in-law, in actuality it is the girl's husband who best enforces this authority. In Hsin Hsing village, for example, there have been cases in which a daughter-in-law disobeyed or was disrespectful to her mother-in-law. In such instances it would be quite unusual for the mother-in-law to attempt to impose her authority by physical means. Instead, she is likely to speak with her son and demand that he force his wife into line. The son uses whatever means he feels necessary—speaking firmly to his wife or, sometimes, even beating her—to make her obey his mother. Parents fear that their inability to control a daughter-in-law

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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when their son is absent may cause irreparable harm to family relationships.

There are a few cases in Hsin Hsing and other villages in the area where an early marriage was arranged because a boy was to be called into the army. These are usually small families which must replace the loss of a son's labor with that of his wife. While the girl may not be able to perform as well as the man, the family tries to choose a strong, capable, and obedient girl who knows farming and whom they feel they can control during her husband's absence.

In recent years another factor which has played an important though not so direct a part in the postponement of marriage has been the increased economic value of girls. A daughter now can contribute substantially to the family income. She may earn money as a seamstress at home, as a field laborer during weeding operations or harvests, or even as a factory laborer in the city. Her marriage now means an economic loss to the family, and it is therefore not unusual for parents to postpone the event for some time. A pretty and capable daughter of one of the K'ang families was not married until she was almost twenty-three-years-old. When she was finally about to be married, her father said that he had held off arranging her marriage as long as possible because she had contributed much to the family income by sewing.

As noted earlier, the emphasis on the importance of family continuity requires that marriages be carefully arranged. However, the interpretation of what is a careful and good method of marriage arrangement has been changing through the years, and today, it is quite different from what it was early in the century. Forty to fifty years ago the arrangements were made solely on the word of a marriage broker, and not even the parents saw the prospective spouse of their son or daughter. Today, it is common for the couple to get a glimpse of each other and, in addition, to have some part in the decision as to the desirability of the marriage.

One of the first changes in the system was that the parents, instead of depending completely on the word of the matchmaker, began to insist on seeing the prospective bride or groom and the family in order to have a sounder basis for making a decision. The matchmaker was asked to effect a meeting of the two sets of parents, at which there were delicate and indirect discussions about their respective families and the possible marriage. Of course final decisions were not made until the matchmaker had discussed privately with each family the other's attributes and transmitted proposals and counter-proposals about the engagement gifts and dowry. At the same time both families took the opportunity to learn as much as possible about the other family from neighbors and friends. The young people had little to do with either discussion or decision.

In the past seven or eight years it has become possible for the young

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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584 178 people to get a glimpse of one another, and perhaps even to meet in a very formal situation. This most recent development has been precipitated by the general changes in the economic and social life of the village as a result of the great increase in mobility and contacts with urban centers.

584 178 169 Two different factors are responsible for the increase in mobility; men are conscripted and leave the village or go alone to urban centers to seek employment. These men, whether single or married, tend to become more independent of family discipline. They have opportunities to meet women, and perhaps to have an affair. The unmarried man may well become less willing to be ordered back to the village one day in order to marry a girl, sight unseen and chosen for him by others. But the situation is even worse when a village man, married to a girl he had never seen and had not chosen, whom he does not yet care for, finds himself suddenly in love with a girl in the city. In such a case it is not unusual for him to stay in the city and live with the woman, refusing to go home to his legal wife. Today, this situation could end in divorce, which creates additional problems because of the need to return the engagement gifts and dowry. In addition, it is likely to inflict serious guilt feelings on the parents. On the few occasions when a village marriage has been dissolved, the parents who arranged the marriage seem to be the most seriously affected, questioning whether or not they had made a poor marriage choice for their son or daughter. It is consequently considered very important to avoid such situations, and many parents have expressed the feeling that since things are now different it is better to share some of the responsibility for arranging a marriage with the young people themselves.

584 593 178 The young people who are allowed to share in the responsibility do so in several ways. Frequently, once the arrangements for a marriage are under way and the parents of the two families entertain favorable feelings towards one another, a meeting is arrranged at which the young people can at least see each other. A favorite rendezvous is some large shop or theatre in Lukang. The two sets of parents arrive, each accompanied by the son or daughter. One family is escorted by the matchmaker who, from a distance, points out the girl to the boy and his family. Sometimes the boy and his family may visit the home of the girl. When they arrive, the girl may appear briefly and offer them tea and cigarettes.[3]

In each case, both the boy and, in turn, the girl are asked for an opinion about the tentatively chosen mate. The young people cannot really judge each other, except perhaps by looks, and if he or she is at all filial and respectful of the parents, can say little more than, "the girl looks all right," or "she is not too pretty, but if you [parents] think she is acceptable, then it is all right." In this way, the parents relieve

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themselves of some of the responsibility in the ultimate choice, and if something goes wrong with the marriage, the parents can always remind the young people that they agreed to the match.

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In actuality, even though many young people want some voice in choosing a mate, most attempt no further contact after the "initial meeting." The boy usually makes no effort to see the girl even if he knows she works in a field near the road, fearing that if anyone sees him they will laugh at him.

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The parents of the boy make their choice on the basis of qualities which they feel will best benefit the family. Thus, they usually seek a healthy, strong, and capable girl who can do the necessary work in the house and the fields and seems able to bear children. They also want a girl who can get along with people well and who can thus adapt easily to the new household into which she comes as a stranger. The girl's family wants a son-in-law who is economically and emotionally stable and can therefore provide adequately for their daughter. Both families place equal importance on the economic condition of the bride's or groom's family and the kind of *ch'in ch'i* they are likely to make.

The choices available to a family trying to arrange a marriage are limited by their own socioeconomic standing, and the families of a newly married couple are usually as evenly matched in this regard as the bride and groom are matched both physically and intellectually. On occasion, hoping to arrange a better marriage, one family and the matchmaker may conspire to deceive the other family as to economic standing or the intelligence or ability of the son or daughter. One such marriage was arranged by a matchmaker from Hsin Hsing village between a local girl and a boy from another village. No mention was ever made to the groom's family that the girl was rather dull, not capable at housework, or even at work in the fields. The justification the matchmaker offered for her behavior was that "after all, if the couple is actually married, then it must mean that they were fated for each other, and therefore there is nothing wrong." This same attitude is occasionally adopted by people who feel they have been similarly cheated; it enables them to accept the *fait accompli* and make the best of it.

However, such attempts at deception are not at all common, and "usually a stupid person marries a stupid person; otherwise they can't get along." The villagers feel that a marriage between people who are too different is likely to lead to the girl's unhappiness. More important, they know it may wreck the relations between the two families. For example, it may end with the girl being sent back home. Another important deterrent to attempts at deception is the danger to the family's reputation and general status if they do something so generally considered improper. However, most village families hope that

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581 584 their daughters' economic and social position will be improved by marriage or that their son will marry a girl with a large dowry. One reason the villagers give for not attempting to arrange marriages within their own village is that "after all, everyone in one's own village knows exactly how poor you really are."

584 583 It is only after the amount and kind of engagement gifts and dowry have been settled through the matchmaker's negotiations that the marriage agreement is considered definite. These gifts are, then, "like a marriage contract." The engagement gifts the boy's family sends to the girl and her family may consist of cash, a common figure being about NT $2,000, plus cloth and jewelry for the girl. When these gifts arrive, her family sends back gifts of gold, clothing (a belt, purse, and so on) and sometimes some cash. At the wedding the girl's family may return most of the gifts to the husband's family in her dowry of furniture, clothing, and even cash. However, as the villagers point out, "Usually in a marriage, all gifts considered, it costs the boy's side more than the girl's. If the boy sends gifts of cash, much of it will come back from the girl's side since her family will use the engagement money to furnish the dowry. If the girl's dowry includes a radio or bicycle, [584] however, then her family might spend more." A family's reputation may be enhanced or lowered by the worth of the engagement gifts or dowry it provides. In the unusual case that the girl's dowry is smaller than the boy's side expected, his family may treat their new daughter-in-law badly, thus adversely affecting relations between the two families. When the arrangements for a marriage are completed, both families send money to the matchmaker. Usually, the groom's family sends twice as much as the bride's. The matchmaker is also remembered on the occasion of the birth of the couple's first son, when the couple sends her fried glutinous rice to thank her for arranging their marriage.

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585 Several months at least separate the official engagement from the wedding, for which preparations are quite elaborate. Formal invitations are sent out by the boy's family to those *ch'in ch'i* and friends in [203] the area who have already sent gifts to commemorate the occasion. "To send invitations to anyone else would be like asking for money, and that would be embarrassing," say the villagers. The invitations are delivered personally by members of the boy's family, *tsu*, or close family friends in the village. The groom's house is decorated with red streamers, wall and door hangings, and scrolls bearing lucky sayings and good wishes for the occasion. Lengths of cloth with money and messages of good wishes pasted on them are sent by friends and relatives and are put up on the walls of the ancestral-worship room. If the [618] groom's family is a member of a *tsu*, the *tsu's* main ancestral-worship room is used for this purpose as well as for the ritual, even if the family has its own private room.

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[For data on arranging a marriage in the village of Hsiachichou, passim, see category 116, pp. 44-129, 163-216, 221-222, and 244-259.]

[Information on the sīm-pûà and siaosiv has been marked also for categories 583 and 597.]

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien



that, while the quarrels precipitated by women are often seen as the major causes of the disruption of Chinese families, it is to the brittle relationship between brothers that we must look for an understanding of why, in spite of the great pride taken in large families, they are nonetheless very rare. And in this connection it is worth glancing at the other large family in Peihotien. It consists of "a pair of surprisingly amiable brothers, both of whom work out of the village at well-paid jobs, leaving their two wives, ten children, unmarried sister, and mother in an ample village home. The two wives are so alike they could be sisters and they work together in effortless cooperation." Perhaps the wives are in harmony because the husbands are away from home.

The difficulties inherent in the fraternal relationship in China are illuminated by another aspect of this book. I have stressed the role of anthropology in it, but in fact Mrs. Wolf also writes from a psychological point of view, and her comments on the training of children show us, among other things, that the role of brother is so modified by the age of the incumbent that it presents a problem to those who must perform it. When brothers are children, the older must give way to the younger. When they are grown up, the younger must defer to the older. So that the tensions promoted by the rivalries built into the fraternal relationship would appear to be aggravated by the contradictory nature of the expectations aroused about the way in which brothers should ideally behave.

All these are major problems in the study of China, and what Mrs. Wolf says about Peihotien can be generalized to help us in our analysis of the family institutions of the country as a whole. No reader who is familiar with Chinese society will have any difficulty in making the jump from the particular to the general. But there is one matter dealt with in the book that, seeming to be peculiar to Taiwan, may appear to be inapt for generalization. Mrs. Wolf tells us that in the generation of Lim Chieng-cua's father nearly half the men in Peihotien married *simpua*, that is to say, little girls brought into the house in prospect of marriage to its sons. As "little daughters-in-law," *simpua* are given parents-in-law before they have husbands. Yet the institution is in fact known very widely in China, and it is only its extensive use in Taiwan that sets that island apart. Because the practice is to be found throughout China, we can profit from the analysis which Mrs. Wolf is able to make where the data are abundant. I suggest that we ought to pay particular attention to what she says about the sexual maladjustment to which *simpua* marriage

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seems to give rise (boy and girl having been reared as though they were brother and sister) and about the declining viability of the institution in conditions where parents can no longer so decisively dictate the choice of marriage partners.

The material brought back from Peihotien by Professor and Mrs. Wolf is (as I can testify from my private knowledge of it) one of the treasures of the ethnography of China. As readers of this book we are afforded the opportunity to see the data on one family assembled to make both a case study and a story. The case study is no less literature than the story, and the story is not a whit less anthropological for being marvelously told. I shall risk being charged with greediness by saying that I hope that *The House of Lim* is merely the first of a long series of books to come from the study of Peihotien. That village is now an important feature of the scholar's map of China.

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ever, were equally cooperative in discussing the Lim family genealogy. By their account, after the birth of Lim Hue-lieng, his mother bore a girl. To Lim Han-ci as well as to his neighbors, raising a girl is a luxury.

As soon as a daughter is old enough to be useful in the house or in the fields, she is also old enough to marry and leave the family (at no small expense to her parents) to give her labor and her sons to another family. The general village attitude is summed up in the words of an old lady who told me why she disposed of her daughters: "Why should I want so many daughters? It is useless to raise your own daughters. I'd just have to give them away when they were grown, so when someone asked for them as infants I gave them away. Think of all the rice I saved."

Faced with a luxury in which he did not want to indulge, Lim Han-ci took the same course. The girl was given to another family as a "little bride," to be raised as a wife for one of their sons. As Lim Han-ci's wife had milk to nurse a child, the family then adopted a girl from a third family to raise as a wife for their own son, Lim Hue-lieng. The family thus ridded themselves of a "useless" daughter and acquired a girl, Lim A-pou, who could marry their son and perpetuate their line of descent. In giving away their own daughter they saved themselves the expense of raising her and providing her dowry; in adopting another child in her place they avoided paying an extravagant bride price for an adult daughter-in-law. Marriages involving a "little bride" do not have the prestige of those that bring a daughter-in-law into the home as a young adult, but they are recognized by local custom throughout northern Taiwan and were common among poor peasant families at the time. Nearly half of the village men of Lim Han-ci's generation married in this fashion. The early and prolonged association of husband and wife often affects their later marital relationship, but this is not considered adequate reason for foregoing the advantages of such a marriage. The desires of the parents and the needs of the family take precedence over the personal interest of the children.

In the ten years between the birth of Lim Hue-lieng and Lim Chieng-cua several unexpected things happened to Lim Han-ci's family. A year or two after the adoption of Lim A-pou another son was born. For one reason or another, probably simply because a suitable child became available, Tan A-hong was adopted at once to be his

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future wife. Unfortunately, this second son died before the age of two from one of the many diseases that afflict Chinese infants. To make matters worse, when Tan A-hong was nine or ten, the girl the family had given away to make room for Lim A-pou was returned to them because the boy she was to marry in her foster family had also died. This placed Lim Han-ci in an awkward position, one that endangered the shaky balance a tenant farmer maintains with his poverty. Lim A-pou, the girl adopted to marry their eldest son, was old enough to be useful around the house and was proving to be a hard worker. Tan A-hong, adopted to marry the son who died, was still too young to work in the fields and was not particularly needed around the house. When their natural daughter was returned to them, Lim Han-ci found himself with two "useless" girls to feed, clothe, and marry to other families. He solved the problem of Tan A-hong by reselling her to another family; he accepted his fate by keeping his natural daughter. In view of the subsequent histories of the two girls, the decision was probably a wise one, but it must have been difficult at the time. Lim Han-ci's daughter grew up in her own family, made a good marriage, and returned to the house during my stay only on appropriate ceremonial occasions. Her siblings and foster siblings are fond of her, and she and her husband make no more than the usual demands on the family. Tan A-hong's relationship with the family should have ended at the point she left them, but they were plagued by her problems for years to come. She finally returned to settle permanently in Peihotien about half way through my stay in the village.

Lim Chieng-cua was the next son born to Lim Han-ci and although never very strong, he survived the dangers of a Chinese childhood. Two years later another daughter was born to the family, but she lived for little more than a month. To soothe the maternal sorrow and to provide Lim Chieng-cua with a wife, Iu Mui-mue was adopted almost immediately.

The last child born to Lim Han-ci's wife was also a girl. She was given away as soon as she was weaned and to my knowledge never returns to visit the family, not even on the traditional homecoming festival of the New Year. This is not unusual behavior on the part of children given away in adoption. Proverbially—and from my observation there is a great deal of truth in the proverbs—adopted daughters are treated harshly by their foster parents. Not all female adoptions are to provide sons with wives. Some little girls are adopted simply as

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During the prime of his life, Lim Hue-lieng's activities were more open. Because of his position in the *lo mua,* he was able to round up gangs of workers on a moment's notice. It was from this source that he received the majority of his income: as long as a man remained on the job Lim Hue-lieng found for him, a certain percentage of his wages went to Lim Hue-lieng. Since his loyalty to clansmen and friends was strong, Lim Hue-lieng's power had a profound effect on the prosperity of Hotien. Besides finding jobs for fellow villagers, he contributed generously to village festivals and community projects such as road building, and he built the lovely Tu Ti Kung shrine that graces the entrance to Peihotien. Without this patronage, Lim Hue-lieng's reputation in his home village would not have been good. Against him remained the stigma of being an unfilial son. And still unmarried in his father's home remained Lim A-pou, the girl his parents had adopted to be his wife. Lim Han-ci made no attempt to arrange another marriage for the girl, and she was rapidly approaching the age after which it would be difficult for her to make a good match. When Lim Han-ci's wife brought home a small girl and Lim A-pou took responsibility for the child's care, there was no longer any doubt in the village about A-pou's future. She was not to marry out of the family. If Lim Hue-lieng did not marry her, the child was to be the most Lim Han-ci could do to provide his eldest foster daughter with support in her old age.

To make a story suitable for the textbooks of Chinese youths, Lim Hue-lieng at the height of his career should have come on his knees to his father, poured riches into his lap, begged forgiveness, and forever after submitted to his father's will. The Lims are not made that way. Lim Hue-lieng and his father were too much alike, and in all the wrong ways, for them ever to live together in harmony. Hue-lieng continued to bear the public stigma of an unfilial son, but he never really did abandon his father. As his own prosperity increased, so did that of his father's family. He could not submit to his father, but he could and did see to it that his father invested money in the right enterprise at the right time. If the enterprise failed, his father never heard of it. During these years Lim Han-ci did not speak of his eldest son and if they ever met, no one knew of it. No one in Peihotien had any reason to believe it would ever be otherwise until one New Year's Day Lim Hue-lieng walked into his father's home and underwent the simple ceremony required to transform foster siblings into man and

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wife. Considering his prosperous independence, this step in itself was as exciting to the villagers as would have been the traditional return of erring sons in Confucian tracts on filiality.

Why did Lim Hue-lieng choose this way of publicly reinstating himself in his father's home? The least generous answer might be that at that particular moment he had need of a respectable tie, a semblance of a stable family background, and that his father had set the marriage as a formal act of contrition. Considering the nature of Hue-lieng's power, this seems unlikely. More likely his decision came from a growing maturity that allowed other elements of his personality to take precedence over his glowering independent pride. His respect for the traditional mores of his society had threaded its way through all of his *lo mua* activities, had prompted him to keep Hotien as the base for his life rather than to move into the gayer world of the city, and had maintained his loyalty to relatives and friends. He had rebelled against his father's domination, but in his own way he respected him. His rebellion had not altered his affection for his mother, nor for his younger brother, although the latter out of loyalty to his father was sometimes cold and hostile to Hue-lieng's overtures. And perhaps Lim Hue-lieng felt pity for the desolate future of A-pou if she had no position in the growing family beyond that of unmarried adopted sister.

Unlike the elaborate feasts and festivities that mark the marriage of two unrelated adults, the wedding of foster siblings is a quiet ceremony witnessed only by members of the family and perhaps a few other relatives. In recent years, this form of marriage has almost completely disappeared from Taiwan. Parents find in it many advantages, but the young people themselves loathe it. Nowadays when jobs outside the village give young men more bargaining power with their parents, they refuse to marry their foster sisters. Their objections are primarily to the sexual aspect of the union. In China, as in the West, sexual relations between siblings are forbidden. Sexual intercourse between two people who, though unrelated, have called themselves and behaved as brother and sister all their lives seems "wrong." The social technicality that condones such relations between foster siblings is not sufficient to overcome their revulsion. Since Lim Hue-lieng expected to continue his life in the outside world where "normal" sexual activity was readily available, perhaps the incestuous feelings that make such a marriage unbearable to others did not worry him.

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former village beauty, but Gioq-ki is of another type. She resembles far more her half-brother A-bok and her uncle Lim Chieng-cua than her short, stocky mother. From her father's family she inherited the unusual long, thin face with its high cheekbones, narrow nose, and firm, somewhat pointed chin. She also inherited, or imbibed, that family's hot temper and fierce character. In Lim Hue-lieng, his brother, and his father, these traits were awesome and even admired; in a Taiwanese female, they are labelled insolence. Gioq-ki is better educated than most village women and though overly proud of her education, she makes no use of it. She is clearly intelligent, but her quick mind only intensifies her restlessness and her dissatisfaction.

It is not difficult to see why Gioq-ki was attracted to the newspaper reporter who grew up on the mainland of China. Chang Jong-kuei is handsome, assured, and sophisticated. His carefully tailored, imported business suits look out of place on village paths, but he shows no signs of self-consciousness. Although the expression on his face suggests affability, his only contact with his village neighbors is at the gambling tables. When Gioq-ki met him, her experience with sophistication was limited to the practiced posing of young village toughs. While bold in a fight and defiant of their enemies, these young men withered at a glance from her father. They speak with confidence and respond quickly to any insult, and yet they are cautious of public opinion in their villages and accept the dictates of local custom. Chang Jong-kuei knows nothing of these restraints. He is an educated mainlander, a city dweller without obligation. Gioq-ki saw him move with ease and assurance through expensive hotels and restaurants in which her father would have looked out of place and slightly uncomfortable. Her father and the *lo mua* feared no one but deferred to the community; Chang Jong-kuei knew no community. The average villager would not trust Chang simply because he is not subject to the usual social pressures, but to Gioq-ki, living in the glow of her father's reputation for independence and power, Chang Jong-kuei's freedom from restraint looked like a personal quality.

At the time Gioq-ki and Chang met, young people in the villages were just beginning to demand the right to choose their own marriage partners. The objections of Gioq-ki's parents to her choice were balanced by her contemporaries' admiration of her boldness. What doubts she herself may have had about marrying a rootless mainlander were cancelled by her fiance's confidence and his dangerously foolish belief in her father's inability to interfere.

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If Lim Hue-lieng and his wife had married Gioq-ki to a young Taiwanese willing to enter their family as an adopted son and descendant, he could have provided the family with a future in the true Taiwanese sense of the word—a chain of descendants continuing for generations after the personalities of the present representatives are forgotten. Even if Gioq-ki and her husband had given one of their sons the Lim surname, obliging him to make offerings to his grandparents' ancestral tablets, there would have been some hope for a future family. Chang Jong-kuei, for reasons known only to him, was unwilling to give even this solace. Although he let his father-in-law believe that the oldest boy bore the Lim surname, he secretly registered him as a Chang.

The marriage of A-hua, So-lan's adopted daughter, is yet to be arranged, and many childless couples have provided their link between past and future through the marriage of an adopted daughter. But times are changing; couples are making their own decisions about marriage partners; young men are now less willing to make the low prestige marriage that cuts them off from their own ancestors and joins them to someone else's. So-lan had little luck with Gioq-ki and it will be difficult to arrange a good match for A-hua. An adopted daughter's inheritance is always questionable when there is a "real" daughter alive. Due to her own ingenuity and the assumed loyalty of her daughters, Lim So-lan need not worry about support for her old age, but she must be satisfied with a pseudo-family that will end with her death. She no longer dreams of a house that can be enlarged to shelter generations of descendants—an apartment in a row house is her present and she has no future. If after her death anyone thinks to make an ancestral tablet for her, it will rest uneasily on an altar dominated by other surnames—a meaningless piece of wood, a link without a chain.

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# LIM A-POU: A WIFE AND A SISTER

Lim A-pou was born into a family living on the far edge of the Hotien district near the town of Tapu, but only the earliest days of her life were spent in this home. When she was eight or nine months old, the Lim family adopted her to bring her up as a wife for their eldest son. As the Lims were still poor tenant farmers at the time, one of their motives must have been a desire to ensure a wife for their son. They could not be certain that they would be able to afford the bride price if they waited to acquire a wife for him when he reached marriageable age. The marriage of foster siblings has less prestige than that in which an adult bride is brought into the family, but there is some compensation in the knowledge that a girl raised in the family usually makes a more willing daughter-in-law. Even the wealthy who can easily afford the more prestigious marriage sometimes choose to adopt their sons' wives as infants for the sake of future domestic harmony. The introduction of a young woman into a family almost inevitably results in a competitive and often openly hostile relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law; the girl who enters the house as a child is socialized in the ways of the house and bound to her husband's mother by all the ties of parental affection. She is both daughter-in-law and daughter. The adult bride is forever comparing her present life with that in her natal home, but the bride who grows up in her

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husband's family has no standards for comparison. She accepts her life because she knows no other.

As a girl and as a young woman, Lim A-pou evinced all the behavior hoped for by families who adopt daughters. She accepted reprimands and punishments without becoming sullen, she did not complain, and she worked at whatever job was at hand with a diligence that must have been impressive to satisfy such a hard taskmaster as Lim Han-ci. Several people told me that the old man was particularly fond of his adopted daughter and often said of her, "Where can you find another person who works as hard as A-pou?" His words are as apt today as they were then. She is always busy, and her activities are always productive. Whether in the fields or in the kitchen, her movements are efficient and purposeful. She can easily manage to cook for their family of fourteen, help her bewildered daughter-in-law care for a sick baby, and still have time to rake over a yard of drying rice every hour. The extent to which the family depends upon her was amusingly, if frustratingly, illustrated on one of the rare days she was away. Lim A-ki, her daughter-in-law, proved incapable of both cooking and attending to the needs of her two small children, and the smell of scorching food brought laughing neighbors in to help and to further the confusion. It was truly a memorable occasion in that Lim Chui-ieng was ordered by her husband to assist by washing down the pig pens, a daily task that takes A-pou a half hour and took the appalled Chui-ieng the better part of an afternoon.

I tried many times, without success, to get A-pou to reminisce about her childhood. She was very helpful in providing me with general information about the customs of adoption and the treatment of adopted daughters, but when I attempted to turn the conversation to her own experiences, I never got beyond a proverb. Once I twisted one of her proverbs into a question and asked, "Is it better to be a daughter or an adopted daughter?" It was a foolish question, but she didn't laugh. She just looked away and answered quietly, "I don't know. I have never been a daughter."

A-pou's fate as an adult was to marry her foster brother, Lim Hue-lieng. If she objected, and it must have been obvious that Lim Hue-lieng would be something less than a husband to her, she kept her objections to herself. There was little to be gained by a protest and much to be lost. Her foster father looked upon the marriage as a

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formal public statement of his eldest son's return to the status of son. A-pou was fond of her foster parents and saddened by the pain Lim Hue-lieng's desertion had caused them. If she refused the marriage, she would not only add to their pain but would also bring to an end the family's obligation to provide for her. To remain in their house under such circumstances would be unthinkable, but for a young woman of A-pou's temperament, the alternatives were too grim to be considered seriously. Where could she go, and how could she support herself and the daughter they had adopted for her—if indeed they allowed her to take the child with her? There were, after all, many advantages to the marriage. The simple ceremony making her a wife as well as a daughter-in-law would greatly improve her status both in the village and in the family itself. And, as the wife of the eldest son, she would have some control over her own future, particularly as the elder generations began to turn over their authority. Lim Hue-lieng's obvious indifference to her might even be an advantage since he would not be likely to remove her from his parents' home and protection. The abhorrence many adopted daughters feel toward coitus with their foster brothers may not have been as pronounced in A-pou's case. Lim Hue-lieng's long absence and the many romantic rumors circulating about his amorous exploits may have given him enough glamour to cloak if not destroy the familiarity that gives rise to feelings of incest. The security of being the eldest daughter-in-law in an increasingly prosperous family could make up for a great deal of what was lacking in the conjugal relationship.

Whether or not Lim A-pou weighed all these advantages and disadvantages, we have no way of knowing. Her decision may have been far simpler. The only respectable thing for a young woman to do in the first quarter of this century was to obey her parents, and A-pou's desire for respectability was, and still is, intense. It is the key to many of her present attitudes and was undoubtedly the motivation for much of her childhood docility. During my first few weeks in the Lim household, there were so many unfamiliar names to be attached to unfamiliar faces that I resorted to descriptive nicknames in conversations with my husband and staff. Lim A-pou was dubbed "the old lady." When I finally sorted out ages and names and relationships, I was amazed to find that she was not quite fifty years old. Unlike every other village woman her age, Lim A-pou wears the old-fashioned Chinese costume and hair style only seen now on Taiwanese women

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done to Lim Hue-lieng or he himself would be guilty of with later grandchildren, but enough to soften his commands and make allowances for A-bok's occasional lapses. A-bok learned everything his grandfather knew about farming and was encouraged by him to develop that talent for innovation which has played such a major role in the family's history. As Lim Han-ci had been among the first farmers to switch to wet rice farming when the irrigation system was built by the Japanese, so A-bok was among the first to devote large tracts of land to the now profitable truck farming.

According to the village gossips, A-bok was not devoted to a life of hard work until after his marriage, but since this notion is traditional, particularly among females with unmarried near-adult sons, I take it lightly. The fact that he submitted to an arranged marriage without even meeting the girl who was to be his bride was taken by many villagers as evidence that he lacked the spirit and independence of his father and grandfather. Indeed, if he had insisted on choosing his own wife, he would probably have been allowed to. But even today in Taiwan, opportunities for young people to meet and become acquainted are few, particularly if they are not employed outside their homes. The kind of young women that Lim A-bok met through his *lo mua* recreations were not women he would wish to raise his children or care for his mother in her old age. His notoriously independent father had compromised also, and when he made a second choice of his own, it was not from amongst the accomplished women he knew in the outside world but a quiet village girl. A-bok married the girl selected by his mother and the go-between, and with the birth of his first child, a boy, he settled easily into the pattern of his grandfather's life and gave up the pleasures of his father's.

All of the farmers in Peihotien put in long, hard hours and hire help only when essential. Lim A-bok works harder than any and hires help less often than most. Some say that he wouldn't have to work so hard if he took a few short cuts, but A-bok wants his fields to stand out from the others by being freer from weeds and with neater windbreaks. In general, he succeeds, but certainly at great cost to himself. I have often seen him nodding over his evening meal, but if it is still light after dinner he goes back to the fields. When the hours of daylight are fewer, he spends his evenings repairing equipment and making rope. Because of his industry and his reluctance to discuss the family's affairs, he is a difficult person to interview. His mother is

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her quarrel with her daughter. Other relatives came to stay for a few nights or a few months.

When Tan A-hong appeared with her five-year-old daughter, I had become so used to the stream of visitors that I didn't even bother to ask who she was for a week or so. I knew, of course, her surname, but when I casually asked A-bok's giddy wife if she was a relative, I dismissed the confused yes-and-no of her answer as just one more sample of A-ki's disorderly thoughts. However, as Tan A-hong's visit lengthened, we noticed that she consistently used kinship terms when addressing the Lims. She was visited frequently by an unusually attractive young woman who was introduced as her daughter and who was treated by the Lims as a much beloved family member. It did not take many questions to discover that Tan A-hong was the adopted daughter Lim Han-ci had given to another family when his own daughter was returned by her foster family. Tan A-hong remained in our house for several months and when one of the small village houses owned by the Lims became vacant, she moved into it, becoming a resident of Peihotien.

By Taiwanese standards, Lim Han-ci had been generous in his treatment of Tan A-hong. Since she was "only an adopted daughter," he would have been justified in selling her to the highest bidder when he found he no longer had reason to keep her and could no longer afford to keep her. The highest bidders in those days were dealers who bought attractive female children to raise as prostitutes, wealthy families who wanted slaves, or prostitutes who adopted daughters to raise in their profession as support for their own old age. Instead of this, Lim Han-ci arranged for A-hong's future in the way he would have arranged the future of a daughter born to him: he found a family who wished to adopt a girl as their son's future wife. A-hong was not sweet-tempered, even as a girl. The family who adopted her evidently had second thoughts about marrying her to their son. She was married out of the family. At least A-hong claims that her exit from the Tan family was by way of a respectable marriage, but the facts of her subsequent career and her retention of the Tan surname cast some doubt on this. The marriage, if it existed, was brief, for Tan A-hong soon moved to southern Taiwan where she earned her living as a prostitute. It was at this time that she further altered her name to include the character for phoenix (*hong*) which is often found in the professional names of women who follow her calling.

Legally and socially, the obligations of the Lims toward A-hong

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# IU MUI-MUE: A REJECTED BRIDE

By the time Lim Chieng-cua and Iu Mui-mue, the girl adopted to be his wife, reached marriageable age, the Lim family was prosperous— more prosperous than their neighbors and more prosperous than Lim Han-ci had ever dreamed of their being within his lifetime. Iu Mui-mue had been adopted to provide a dutiful daughter-in-law and an inexpensive wife for the second son of a respectable though poor tenant farm family. But, the poor tenant family had become an increasingly powerful landed family, a family that could now afford a more prestigious form of marriage. Even if there had not been a change in his fortunes, Lim Han-ci could see that Mui-mue was not a suitable wife for his son. By adopting her as a child he had avoided the problem of adjusting an adult bride to a new household, but there are some things adopting parents cannot control. In the case of Mui-mue, it was her stupidity. Even worse, for Lim Han-ci's temperament, she was feckless. In all of his other children and in those of his grandchildren old enough to be influenced by him, Lim Han-ci instilled a driving capacity for hard work, but Mui-mue turned out to be one of the laziest women in Peihotien. She is placid, shiftless, and pleasure loving; when she encounters a problem, she laughs and turns to something else. In her youth she got more personal enjoyment out of the Lims' new prosperity than any other family member. By the time she was eighteen, she had a surprising reputation (for those days) for looseness, a reputation that Lim Han-ci found he could not

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cure by beating. Lim Chieng-cua at twenty-one had already developed some skills in diplomacy. When he committed his only unfilial act, refusing to marry the girl selected for him by his parents, he did so in terms of her potential for bringing shame to the family name.

Several young men of Lim Chieng-cua's generation rejected the girls adopted to be their brides, but it was by no means the common act it was to become a few years later. In most cases there was a family uproar, aired from one end of the village to the other; the outcome depended a great deal upon the son's position in the family, the firmness of his character, and the potential he had for financial independence. In the case of the Lims, however, the village knew nothing of the matter until an observant neighbor noted the second visit of a go-between and was calmly told that Lim Han-ci was arranging the marriage of his adopted daughter. We can never know precisely what words were exchanged between father and son, but I doubt that they found much to disagree over. Lim Han-ci could not have looked with much favor on Iu Mui-mue, and he certainly realized that her nature would not improve with an elevation of position in the family. Had the old man wanted it, Lim Chieng-cua would probably be married to Mui-mue today, but since the father was in basic agreement with his son, there was no reason for him to rise to the challenge to his authority and to thereby endanger a relationship that was both comforting and important to his own well-being. Lim Han-ci had lost his eldest son and wished no quarrel with his one remaining son.

There is nothing in the marriage of adopted siblings that is lacking in honor. It is a form of marriage found even among wealthy urban families who value peace over pageantry. But even a man of Lim Han-ci's parsimonious principles must have been tempted by the opportunity the marriage of two unrelated adults provides for a public display of the family's rise in the world. To affirm his ability to provide a series of feasts for a hundred or more guests, to display his new house bedecked in satin banners and garlands of gift money, to introduce the quantity and quality of his social and blood relations, to show how large a dowry he could demand, to have the dowry carried on open carts through the streets of the town and the paths of the villages, to know that rumors were circulating as to the amount he gave as a "bride price"—these things may have appealed to Lim Han-ci as a symbol of his personal triumph over poverty and as a gesture

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of gratitude to the son who had remained loyal to him. A poor family with no money and no land can marry a son to a foster daughter and their neighbors will think nothing of it; when a family as affluent as Lim Han-ci's makes such a marriage, it only reminds the neighbors of how insignificant that family was when the bride was adopted. The Lim family had climbed to a definite social position in their community and Lim Han-ci was willing to pay the price to maintain it.

Mui-mue's character and limited intellectual capacities cast doubt on her ability to function as the wife of the family's head. With the removal of his eldest son from an active role in family affairs, Lim Han-ci departed from custom and began to look to his second son as his natural successor. So long as he lived, Lim Han-ci retained and made the most of his authority as father, but he gradually turned over to Lim Chieng-cua the practical conduct of the family's affairs. Lim Han-ci continued to represent the family in the village and to conduct most of its external affairs, but more and more decisions about the use of family funds, the purchase of supplies, the keeping of family accounts, were delegated to Chieng-cua. As Chieng-cua's wife, Mui-mue would be expected to eventually assume management of the family's domestic affairs, and this was a task for which she had again and again demonstrated herself as unfit. By now the family was convinced that Mui-mue could not be trusted with access to their common purse. Lim A-pou would have been the ideal woman to fill this role, but that was impossible. The only solution was to remove Mui-mue and find another wife for Lim Chieng-cua.

From what I heard of her early personality and from what I can infer from her present behavior, the marriage Lim Han-ci negotiated for Iu Mui-mue seemed quite appropriate. Through the good offices of a go-between, she was quietly and respectably married to a medicine peddler from a nearby town. Medicine peddlers are rarely wealthy and usually spend a great deal of time traveling, but their life is full of variety and in general freer than that in the villages. This nomadic existence with its constant stimulation should have been ideal for Mui-mue, but for some reason it was not. Perhaps instead of traveling with her husband, she was left at home with his parents, or perhaps her easy ways and lack of judgment got her into trouble. Whatever the cause, the marriage lasted for a very short period, less than a year. I have reason to believe that the failure of the marriage rested on her actions since had it been otherwise, she would have returned to the

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# LIM CHUI-IENG: AN EXPENSIVE WIFE

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Lim Chieng-cua's revolt, it if may be called that, ended with his refusal to marry Iu Mui-mue. He did not demand the right to choose his own bride and made no objection when his father began searching about for a trustworthy go-between. In China, the choice of a go-between is nearly as crucial as the choice of the bride. In a village marriage, the go-between must negotiate and remember accurately and honestly all of the involved terms of the marriage settlement. She scours the countryside for a family of appropriate status and makes discrete inquiries among their neighbors, friends, and enemies about the health, character, virtue, and industry of the prospective bride. Few parents are so bereft of friends and relatives that they cannot make an additional private set of enquiries about the bride and her family, but it is on the go-between's researches that most decisions are based. Her honesty must be unquestionable, her ability to analyze character infallible, her experience extensive, and above all else, her loyalty to the young man's family must be firmly and irrevocably established. She must, nonetheless, seem equally trustworthy to the family of the bride, giving them the impression that she is their ally, working for their interests. This is the ideal go-between and here Lim Han-ci chose without error. Ng Kui-lian was at that time in her middle sixties and had been an active and highly successful go-between for over twenty years. She lived no more than 100 yards from the Lims, and her family had lived in Peihotien for at least two generations before her birth. Her sons

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had prospered and had been assisted toward their prosperity by the Lims. They still consult with Lim Chieng-cua and Lim A-bok on a variety of subjects, ranging from insecticides to investments. A bride's family could not bribe Ng Kui-lian to hide their daughter's defects until after the final ceremony, or raise the bride price and lower the dowry. This go-between's loyalty was unquestionable.

Unfortunately, Lim Han-ci's choice of a bride was not as astute as his choice of a go-between. In deciding among the several girls that Ng Kui-lian presented for his approval, he broke a fundamental rule. Chui-ieng was attractive, intelligent, healthy, and of the right age for his son. She was reputed to be strong-minded, but no rumor of really bad behavior was found among her neighbors. She was an adopted daughter but had been adopted into a childless family, so there was no suspicion that she was being rejected as an unsuitable bride for the son of that family. She did not have a reputation for skill in the domestic arts, but this was not at all unusual for young women from families of modestly comfortable means. Many mothers consider their permissive treatment of their daughters a kindness, at the same time cursing their new daughters-in-law for the slack upbringing that makes them so useless in their marital homes. But this was a minor fault. The major fault was one that Lim Han-ci foolishly chose to disregard. Chui-ieng was born into an urban family far wealthier than the Lims, and adopted into a family which was perceptibly better off than the Lims. When his go-between pointed this out as a serious disadvantage, Lim Han-ci made an error of pride. The house of Lim had risen so far in his lifetime that his perspective blurred. When Chieng-cua caught sight of the handsome girl and indicated his approval to his father, the decision was made. Lim Han-ci dismissed the long-accepted custom that wives should be selected from families whose status was the same or slightly inferior to their husband's. It was a decision he and the rest of the family regretted from the day Chui-ieng entered the house. She persistently brought to everyone's mind, both intentionally and through ignorance, the reason for this rule of marriage. Although not accustomed to a life of luxury, she was used to more comforts than she found with the Lims. She did not consider the price of a bus ticket to the next town a serious expenditure. The closest she had come to agriculture was in picking flowers, but the Lims expected her help, albeit minimally, during the rush periods of harvest. Although she knew she would have to learn to

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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581
+159 cook for a large family, her intense pride prevented her from taking
+596 gruff corrections humbly. In her own home, she had learned to dictate
+593 to a young servant, to express any frustration with a display of anger
[359] that confused her more even-tempered parents and made the servant scurry. Worst of all for Lim Han-ci, her dissatisfaction quickly turned to scorn for the family into which she had married. She became the only adult in the family who did not take seriously their almost fanatic desire to preserve the family's dignity and good name. She looked down on them as inferiors and saw no good name to be preserved. Her excessive evaluation of her own worth prevented her from making any friends in the village and consequently prevented her from damaging the family with idle gossip, but she was totally unwilling to control her strong feelings when their public display could only injure the family in the eyes of its neighbors. To her, they had nothing to lose.

When I came to live with the Lim family, Lim Chui-ieng had been married for seventeen years and had borne her husband six children. Most village women after this length of time visit their natal homes only rarely and have thoroughly, if not peacefully, identified with the family of their husbands and their children. Lim Chui-ieng had not made this adjustment. Family secrets, the very existence of which other family members denied, were fair topics of conversation for Chui-ieng. In her loneliness, she seized upon my interpreter as a confidante, telling her at every opportunity of the tragedy that was her life, a tragedy culminating in her marriage to Lim Chieng-cua. Even though her stories are distorted and biased in her own favor, they show what a disrupting effect she has had on the Lim family.

+159 "I was adopted," she said, "when I was four or five months old.
+593 My father's older brother was a very well-known man, and my family
597 was very particular about only giving daughters to a family who had
• 584 sons for them to marry. My grandmother was very strict, and she would only let each of her three sons keep one daughter. They had to give the rest away.

"My foster mother and father quarreled a great deal from the time they were married, and so they didn't have any children. His mother decided that it would be a good idea to adopt a child for them. She thought that once they had a child they wouldn't fight anymore. She had just borne a baby girl herself, so she gave her away and adopted me to drink her milk. She wanted to get a baby so badly that

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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she lied to my parents and told them they already had a son. Then, when the go-between came, she borrowed a neighbor's boy and said it was the son I was to marry.

"When my real parents found out the truth, they said they were going to burn the go-between with firecrackers when she came to get her money. She didn't dare to come. My uncle was very proud and had a great deal of influence, so she didn't dare say anything about it.

"If I hadn't been tricked away like that, I wouldn't be where I am now and have such a bad life. All my sisters married their foster brothers and they are all very rich and very happy now. My family always gave their daughters to families with sons. It saved them the trouble of having to marry the girls out themselves, and the girls made respectable marriages. It does not look good for an adopted daughter to marry out of her family no matter what. People will say, 'Oh, that woman married twice!' [The implication is that her first marriage occurs upon adoption.]

"When they found out how they had been tricked, my uncle came to my foster parents house to get me back. He even brought something to carry me home in, but when he got there and saw how much everyone liked me and how well they were treating me, he decided to let me stay. I guess he just decided that was my fate.

"But really, the people in my foster family liked me very much. The people who lived around there all called me 'the aristocrat of the adopted daughters.' From the time I was adopted until I married, I never had to cook or do much else. I helped to take care of the younger children and did a little housework, but that was all. My father and mother and grandmother all liked me very much and were very good to me.

"Five years after I was adopted, my foster mother had her first child. Until then I was the only child in the family and could do whatever I wanted. I slept with my grandmother and she petted me each night until I went to sleep. It was the same until I married. No matter how late it was, I would wait for my grandmother before I would go to bed. I was afraid to go to sleep by myself. That was because they tricked my parents that way and adopted me so young. All of my sisters and my father's brother's daughters weren't adopted until they were three years old.

"I go to visit my natal family and my foster family very often."

Of her marriage Lim Chui-ieng told me: "She [probably the go-

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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between] came to talk about a marriage when I was nineteen, but I said I didn't want to get married. I still didn't want to get married when I was twenty-three, but my parents made me do it. It was all because of my parents. I knew about this family and I didn't want to marry into it. It is better the way they do it now—it is better to pick out your husband yourself because then you can get along together. See how it is with me. I didn't want this marriage and I was right. We don't get along at all. He is always going *peng, peng, peng* [the sound used to denote scolding]. There is nothing good about an arranged marriage. The very most you can do is visit your parents now and then and say, 'I didn't want to marry him and you made me do it so now you are responsible for my suffering.' But when I was married, all of the marriages were arranged by the parents. And that is the stupidest thing in the world.

"I was only 19 when they came to talk about this marriage. I wouldn't do it, and my grandmother wouldn't make me do it. She didn't like the things she heard about the Lims either. But three years later my mother and her husband's elder brother's wife went ahead and arranged this marriage. Every time I go home, I complain to them that they gave me a sad, hard life."

I pointed out to Chui-ieng that I often see her sitting with her husband whispering to him about various things and she answered indignantly, "Oh you. You are so dumb. He beats me all the time because we get along so well, is that why? You don't know how hard I had to work when I first married into this family. I even had to go out and work in the fields with the rest of them. And all the time he is scolding . . ."

My assistant, whose honesty at times overwhelms her diplomacy, suggested, "Well, he only hits you when something happens. He doesn't hit you just to amuse himself."

Chui-ieng could not deny the truth of this but asserted, "Yes, but I'll always remember it. I'll never forget it until I die. I'll always remember to bring it up and talk about it once in awhile."

Lim Chieng-cua and Chui-ieng have four boys and two girls. Their first born, Kim-hok, is a tall, handsome boy in his early teens. He has the long-boned body and the fine, thin features of his father's family. He also has their temperament and in him I fear it will be a handicap that it was not to the generations before him. Their strength and self-confidence show up in Kim-hok as stubborn arrogance. The

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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bastards" better than his own children. This was too much. Lim Chieng-cua struck his wife a heavy blow across the mouth. She ran into the courtyard but he followed her, grabbing a heavy scaling pole as he went. Fortunately, A-bok was moving sacks of rice in the yard and pinned his uncle's arms before he could strike her. Instead of leaving, Chui-ieng turned back to attack her tightly-held husband. A-bok had to call Masa to pull Chui-ieng away. She then ran out of the house. The uproar brought the whole family out of the house, and the children were whimpering with fear. Lim Chieng-cua turned from his nephews without a word and disappeared into his bedroom. A-bok's young son, more curious than frightened, demanded of his father in a loud, clear voice, "Why were you fighting with Uncle?" Although his father insisted gruffly and repeatedly that they had not been fighting, his mother, characteristically, began to giggle. A-bok shouted at her to get back to work, and the others returned to the house. Tan Chun-ieng was home that evening and it was she who took over the care of Lim Chui-ieng's children, seeing to their baths and getting them into bed. Lim A-pou and her daughter-in-law, the latter probably under strict orders since basically she is a kind girl, completely ignored the frightened and tearful children. The youngest wandered around the house pathetically asking anyone who would listen, "Was Momma getting a spanking? Have you seen my Momma?" It was not the feared father who had abandoned them, but their beloved mother. Long after the house was usually quiet, I heard sobs coming from the children's sleeping room.

Lim Chui-ieng went to the only refuge she had in the village, the home of Ng Kui-lian, the go-between for her marriage. There she borrowed enough money to get her to relatives and left the village at once. A little over an hour after the quarrel, I heard the clump, clump of old Ng Kui-lian's cane aggressively announcing her progress through the house. Her status as the original go-between gave her the right and indeed the obligation to act as peace-maker in the present crisis. Her status as an old lady gave her the right to speak her mind to both parties. After soundly scolding Lim Chieng-cua for interrupting her late afternoon nap, she demanded full details of the quarrel. He spoke frankly and her comments were equally frank. They talked for the better part of an hour before the old woman was satisfied that both had been, as she suspected all along, in the wrong. With that she left, intending to put things back together the following day

Much to my surprise, Lim Chui-ieng returned to the house the

123 Full acceptance is never possible. An American of
609 European descent must accept the fact he will always be considered a rich, highly educated, kao pi tzu (big nose or Westerner). There are various clues to evaluate your
123 level of acceptance. Your relative status may be assess-
609 ed by where you are assigned to sit at a dinner in some-
554 one's house for locations at the table are ranked in order
584 of importance. At a big festival such as a wedding for which there are many tables, relative importance is also assigned to different tables. For example, although the groom goes from table to table toasting the guests and being toasted in turn, he starts with the most important table and ends with the least. At the start of our study, we were the most prestigious guests at every function, even ranking above the mayor of the large nearby town of Hsin Tien. As time passed, we moved down the tables in rank position, joining the richer villagers but sitting below local village officials. At the last wedding, my wife sat at the lowest ranking regular table in the kitchen with the women in the immediate family since one woman in the family was one of her closest friends in the village and I sat at the third-ranking table with my
123 "sworn brothers." Three months before I left, I had
[573] achieved a high level of acceptance by becoming a member of a chieh pai hsuing ti[5] (sworn brothers association).
[60] A final key may be found in the term of address which

582 li exogamy. Although most brides came from villages within two or three miles of Sanlei, brides brought from central Taiwan carry the most prestige.

591 The most highly rated form of residence after marriage is patrilocal, i.e., the bride joins her husband in his natal home. Neolocal marriage, which results when either the bride and groom establish a new residence by themselves or the bride joins her husband in a place where he is living alone, is not uncommon. Many research reports describing Taiwanese marriage which are based on official records have combined neolocal marriages with the figures for patrilocal marriages resulting in an inflated percentage for the latter (P.K.C. Liu, 1967) because the category of wife joins husband in the records applies equally to either. Some marriages, especially in the recent period, do not fit these traditional anthropological categories. Some young people are living and working in town. They marry in the village but immediately establish a new residence in town with an underlying intention to return to the village in two or three years when the wife has a baby in order to live patrilocally.

Selecting a Spouse

584 From the point of view of the marriage partners there are three different marriage procedures for obtaining a spouse. The original form is the "arranged marriage,"

• 584 established between the bride's parents and groom's parents through the auspices of a matchmaker, the bride
[178] and groom not meeting until the wedding. This form, once very popular, is declining in frequency, constituting about one quarter of the recent marriages in Sanlei Ts'un from data and estimated about the same for the li.

A second form is what we have called a "veto marriage." It is closely related to the strictly "arranged marriage" because the procedures are similar, initial negotiations being handled by a matchmaker between two sets of parents. However, before the engagement, the young people meet each other, frequently at the potential bride's home in the presence of both parents and the matchmaker. Alternatively, they may observe each other but not meet by both attending the same function such as a movie or amusement park in separate groups. Each potential spouse retains the right to veto the marriage but this is seldom done openly. The negative sentiment is expressed by pointing out faults, "He doesn't look strong." "She looks like she has expensive tastes." Positive sentiment, on the other hand, is merely a statement by the child to the parent that "You know best," or "Whatever you think." (See Glossary C.) This data was obtained by both interviews and observation. I accompanied one village boy, his parents, and the matchmaker to the home of the potential bride where we visited for an hour and left. In the taxi on the way back to the village, the boy told his father that he should

584 make the decision because he had more experience. The boy had previously rejected two other girls by politely pointing out possible faults. The boy and his father did not openly discuss the boy's role in determining the marriage, but that evening the father told me that if the young couple later had trouble the son could not blame him for making a poor choice as he had played a part in the selection of the bride. I also observed two similar visits to a village girl's home and the conversation which followed; [118] one suitor was rejected and the other accepted. This form has always been present in Chinese culture but in the modern period has supplanted in frequency the arranged form.

The final form which we are calling a "love marriage" is increasing the most rapidly in frequency. It is simply the self-selection of mates. Often, the engagement and wedding are legitimized in traditional terms by employing a matchmaker to carry on negotiations and arrangements as if the decision had not already been made. Among the oldest generation still living in the village, there seemed to have been only one true "love marriage" that was opposed by parents. The couple registered the marriage with the Japanese police and ran off to the mountains to live and did not return until after the girl was obviously pregnant. [589] The term, "love marriage," could also be applied to common-law marriages and many remarriages, especially among couples who marry rather late in life.

584 654 187 123 Careful collection of data is necessary in obtaining marriage rates by types for there is a tendency to disguise the latter two types as if they were the highly rated arranged form. One man in Sanlei once told me he had an "arranged marriage" and did not see his bride until the wedding. I later learned he and his wife were from the same village, they grew up in homes only 100 feet apart, and both played on the same school tag-ball team. (For discussion of marriage events, see Chapter VIII.)

Incorporation of the Bride

593 851 Marriage does not make the bride a full-fledged member of her new family for a wife attains a status in her husband's home only through her children, especially sons (C. K. Yang, 1959a:89). This value, true for much of China, has been clearly expressed by Fei:

> . . . the legal act of marriage, although preceding the birth of a child, always anticipates the realization of parenthood . . . the full status of a woman is acquired after the birth of a child. Similarly, the affinal relation remains impotent unless a child is born . . . (1939:30).

This is also true in Sanlei. A wife is not fully incorporated into her husband's chia until after she has a child. As will be discussed later, an adopted child may be substituted for a natural child. In spite of the fact that the literature suggests that barren women could be divorced (Lang, 1946:40), no one in Sanlei had ever heard of it happening.

114 incidence. P. K. C. Liu also points out that the percent-
583 age listed is probably lower than the actual frequency
591 (1967:60). An original matrilocal marriage may now be considered patrilocal because either the girl's parents are dead or the couple, after some years in the matrilocal residence, had established a new residence.

591 A family without a son but with a daughter, natural
593 or adopted, can assure the continuation of the family by this procedure of matrilocal or adopted-in husband marriage. At marriage, the groom becomes part of the family of the bride. The degree of his incorporation is established through negotiation. Often, the ceremony itself is the mirror image of a regular wedding, celebrated at the bride's home rather than the groom's, arranged by a matchmaker and with the identical establishment of ch'in ch'i (affinal) relationships between the two families. The forms of "arranged," "veto," and "love" described above may be identical.

583 The conditions of the marriage contract may vary
584 but there is always an agreement that the new family and
769 some or all of its descendants will continue the worship of the ancestors in the bride's home. Although the agreement is often written, a few villagers prefer an oral agreement because a written agreement looks too much like a potential court case. Sometimes, conflict later occurs with reference to the terms of the agreement. Most often,

583 584 769 the agreement is written in duplicate, one copy left on the ancestor's table and the other burned in the ancestor's pot[9] to properly inform the ancestors.

583 769 583 551 The groom may or may not bring in ancestors of his own for worship, i.e., an additional ancestor's pot. The groom usually retains his own surname, but may assume his wife's surname or even combine the two to produce a joint surname. There were none of the latter two currently in Sanlei but examples of each were found in T'oulei.

583 584 551 861 The most variance in marriage contract terms is with reference to the surnames of the children. The range is from all children assuming the groom's surname (two cases) through half assuming each surname alternating in order of birth (three cases), to all assuming the bride's surname (one case). The most common pattern is for one child to assume the bride's surname and the rest the groom's (19 cases). In this arrangement, the one child is always either the first or second, usually with the bride's parents retaining a choice and not making it until immediately after the first child is born. If the first child is a boy, it will be assigned the mother's surname, but if the first child is a girl, frequently she will obtain the father's surname, with the second automatically assigned the mother's surname. In this case, the hope of the mother's parents is that the second child will be a male for a male child with the maternal grandfather's

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surname is the best means for guaranteeing continuity of worship.

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The process, or combination of processes described above, may be quite extensive, i.e., they may be repeated in successive generations if no male is produced. One extreme example is illustrated by the case of Liao Chi-cheng (Figure 7) who is now age 80 and the most educated man in his generation. Liao (1) had no children but adopted a daughter (2) and later adopted in a husband for

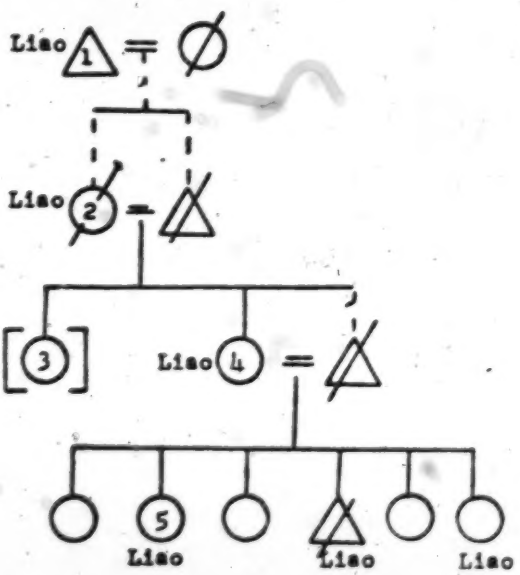


Figure 7. Kinship Diagram, Liao Chi-cheng Chia (All above individuals surnamed Liao are so noted.)

593 virtual stranger. A. P. Wolf is a notable exception
583 (1968). He reports that chao fu husbands are often pampered in their new homes, a behavior pattern also common in Sanlei because of the fear the man will leave. For Sanlei, in 1 of 4 marriages, it is the male who must adjust to the female's household with her father usually the effective head.

Siaosiv (Adopted Daughter Marriage)

584 Of the 94 marriages under consideration, twelve
597 (12.8%) were the type discussed by Fei (1939:53) as the siaosiv marriage and elaborated by Lang (1946:127) and Gallin (1966:163-6). In brief, for Sanlei, the parents of a boy adopt a female baby three to ten years (average seven) after the birth of a boy and raise them as brother and sister. With about six months notice, when the girl
[585] is 18 or 19, the couple are married. There are rarely parties or any significant wedding ceremony as merely "putting the shoes under the bed," or "pushing them to-
554 gether." (see Glossary C). The first phrase is also asso-
587 ciated with common-law marriages and the remarriage of
588 widows or divorcees. These marriage types all share in common a relatively low status in the village value system.

Under normal circumstances, a wedding is a gay
585 occasion with a big dinner, many guests, etc. The affair lasts most of a full day with the newly-weds as the center

585 of attention. Important guests toast them and speeches are made about them and their families. In the whole life cycle, the funeral of an old person is the only rite de passage approaching it in importance. If a person does not have a wedding party, it is likely he will never be the center of attention at any major affair. Since he also goes to his friend's weddings, he wants his family to 885 reciprocate as a host. The wedding also marks his status change from immaturity to full adult, since an unmarried man of 30 cannot hold traditional positions available to a married man of 24. The wedding party marks this status change for everyone in the area to see and without a big ceremony the status change is not clearly communicated.

178 584 597 This kind of marriage, the siaosiv, is often discussed in Chinese ethnographies but, once more, rarely are statistical data provided. Gallin points out that the practice is relatively important in Hsin Hsing but declining in frequency (1966:155) as is also true in Sanlei. Adoption of daughters remains very common in Sanlei (see subsequent section), but marriages of the siaosiv type are relatively rare given the number of possibilities, i.e., families with an adopted daughter and natural son of appropriate ages. Of the 119 marriages previously listed for another Hokkien village, 23 were siaosiv (19.3%), even higher than the 12.8% listed for Sanlei (A. P. Wolf, 1966: 889).

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un



584 597 593 At the time of the adoption and while the child is being raised, there are few differences to be distinguished between girls who were adopted as future mates and girls who were merely adopted as daughters. For his Hokkien village in northern Taiwan, Wolf argues that there is a difference in the daughters who were adopted as future mates and those as mere daughters (1966:884) because he classifies the adoption of a daughter as a future mate as part of the marriage procedure. He claims it differs from the regular marriage only in the longer length of time between change of residence and consumation. Yet, his data do not fully support this position. If the boy dies, the girl is not a widow (1966:884) and furthermore, she becomes eligible as a marriage partner for men such as her intended's brother or his patrilateral parallel first cousin with whom relations would have been incestuous if she has actually been married as planned. Similarly, it will be pointed out later that a <u>siaosiv</u> daughter may be married to a younger brother if the eldest son is able to convince his parents he should have a regular marriage.

It appears for Sanlei that the actual decision regarding marriage is not made until the couple is approximately the appropriate age for marriage. Even then, the decision is dependent upon the financial well-being of the family and the ability of the boy to resist his parents which he usually tries to do. In all twelve examples

584 cited above the male was informed first and in only one
597 case, did the boy claim he did not try to indicate strong
593 reluctance. This latter individual remains today a most filial son, age 42, living in an extended family with his father having full control of all family income and expenditures. Eleven of the twelve cases then may be considered on one level to indicate a failure by the boy or girl to obtain their wishes. Sometimes, the reluctance was expressed mildly but in other cases, there was a loud argument, lasting days, which was heard all over the village. In one of the twelve marriages, the bride was adopted to marry the eldest son in the family. She later was married to the second son after the eldest son successfully persuaded his father not to force the marriage. The second son also tried to refuse but his father was adamant.

584 Wolf (1966:883-92) found that the <u>siaosiv</u> marriage
581 had a much lower probability of success than normal types which he relates to the nature of the causes for the "incest tabu." Data for Sanlei tend to support his argument. Only two of the twelve marriages would be rated as above average successes in the village. In both cases (one is the filial son example cited previously), each partner is
584 quiet and unaggressive and was so as a child. All four
836 spouses were virgins at marriage and neither man had been to the tea or wine houses. Although there was some ritual avoidance after the engagement was announced, in both

584 cases the men were sexually curious but engaged in only a
936 minimum of petting with his future spouse such as squeezing her breast before the marriage. My own opinion, based on a general impression is that both men even today are rather naive in orientation toward the wor[illegible]

584 As stated previously, in some cases the reluctance
595 and dismay was expressed openly by the son and foster daughter both and considerable argument ensued although the couple eventually married. Although not fully revealed by the data for the 94 marriages, some couples were successful in their arguments with parents and managed to change the plans for a <u>siaosiv</u> marriage. This is a delicate area in which to collect data for it necessarily exposes someone as an unfilial person. Since the son is usually informed first, if the proposed marriage is immediately cancelled it is possible that only the father, mother, and son would ever know that the possibility had been advanced. Thus, an informant revealing this information would be required to state that his son had been unfilial. Yet, I did find four such examples among current living Sanlei men and women.

584 The incidence of the adopted girl marrying out does
556 not necessarily reveal refusal. The original purpose for the adopted daughter marriage was to save wedding costs and if the family financial status had improved, a regular bride may be brought in and the foster daughter married out

584 in the usual manner. From the official records, it is
556 impossible to tell if the decision to marry out the girl was made by the father alone because his family could now afford the regular marriage with its consequent prestige accrual for the family or was due to the non-acceptance of the original match by the boy and/or girl. In Wolf's report, of 19 men born between 1910 and 1930 who later had an adopted sister designated as a future mate, only two eventually married, and in 15 cases, the young couple refused to go through with the match (1966:886). Only two of nineteen does not offer strong support for his contention that the adoption is a "partial" marriage. Indeed, other kinds of data suggest it is less a "partial marriage" than is an engagement. If an engaged girl refused to complete the wedding, her family would owe damages to the groom's family. On the other hand, if an adopted daughter refused to complete the wedding, her natal family (with whom relations are most often maintained) would not owe damages.

275 Unlike the men in Wolf's study (1966:883-92), vil-
548 lage men of Sanlei rarely travel to the wine and tea houses in Hsin Tien or Taipei. They do go occasionally to an unlicensed drinking and eating location in a basement in a nearby village house to eat snacks and drink wine or beer and sing or play games, but no prostitutes are ever present.

584 However, four promiscuous women do reside in Sanlei and
581 villagers consider one insatiable. Of these four women,
837 two were formerly siaosiv. This frequency is highly significant by sign although the "n" is too small for adequate testing. Among siaosiv, there is a high proportion of quite unhappy marriages and one childless marriage, the only childless marriage of ten years or more in which the wife was under 25 at marriage and in which the couple still refuses to adopt a child.

584 Everyone in the village argues why a siaosiv mar-
183 riage is a good idea for someone else. Their reasons emphasize both the economies to be realized and the positiveness of good relations between mother and daughter-in-law which must have been present if the match had been proposed. The reasons given for not personally desiring this kind of marriage was always either, "I would be too embarrassed," or, "It would not be interesting" (see Glossary C). It is significant that no man or woman in the village would prefer a siaosiv marriage.

108 The last siaosiv marriage in Sanlei Ts'un was in
584 1959 and since that date, three girls who had been adopted into the village as future mates married out in the regular fashion. As far as I could tell, only one of these was after an argument (a "love marriage" to a boy from T'oulei) while the adopted fathers of the other two claimed that they married the girls out because siaosiv marriage now

584 would only result in trouble for "young people make more
178 decisions today" (see Glossary C). The frequency of
[561] sisosiv marriage is inversely related to prosperity and directly related to the lessening power of older generations over younger generations.

Implications of Marriage Forms

591 The variety of marriage residences are particularly
606 significant for the status of women. The major stress for the bride in her new home largely originates from the groom's mother according to the traditional literature (see Chapter X). Combining the 12.8% sisosiv marriages in which the bride was raised in the groom's home with the 25.6% of the brides who married chao fu and thus did not move to the groom's home at marriage and then adding in the "neolocal" forms suggests that close to half of all brides in Sanlei do not have the kind of "mother-in-law" problem in their homes so characteristic of the Chinese literature.

Reasons for Adopting Daughters

597 There are a number of different reasons for the adoption of a daughter. Gallin lists, in addition to a future mate for a son as discussed above, such reasons as no children in the family, to replace a dead infant, to invite a natural baby boy (chao ti), and as a servant (1966:161-3). These reasons are also common in Sanlei except that the last is very rare and, of course, always

597 represents a loss of a village girl for no one in Sanlei has a servant.

584 597 In order to eventually allow for a <u>siaosiv</u> marriage, a family frequently gives up a natural daughter in adoption and immediately brings in an adopted girl, i.e., if a woman with a son age five or so has a baby daughter, she can give her out for adoption and replace her with an adopted daughter. The expenses of raising children is equal whether natural or adopted. However, when the children are mature, with adoption and a <u>siaosiv</u> marriage, there is only one marriage to arrange instead of two and the larger expenses of the groom's parents for a regular marriage are avoided.

There is a greater stigma attached to giving up a girl in adoption to a family which has no son as a potential future mate than to one with a son. If the family has a son, people claim it might be something like an arranged marriage, but if there is no son, it can only be considered the same as selling the girl. Most girls from proper Sanlei families who are adopted out go to families with sons of appropriate ages (discussed in a later section).

597 562 842 Other reasons for adopting daughters are suggested. Because a woman gains status in her husband's home through her children and since an adopted daughter is legally and morally the equivalent of a natural daughter, a fast means of incorporation is provided. A new wife can significantly

902 boys are not expected to marry until after completing ser-
582 vice. This expectation has served to raise the average age
[465] of boys at marriage.

Marriage

584 Marriage has been discussed in Chapter V. To review briefly, there are a number of different ways to classify marriages. In terms of decision making, there are three types: 1) arranged, with parents fully in control of the decision; 2) veto, with parents making the initial arrangements but the bride and groom each possessing veto power; and 3) love, where everything is decided by the bride and
198 groom. Historically, changes have occurred from a majority
584 of arranged marriages to the veto type and more recently
581 to the love although all three types appear to have always been present in Chinese society. Currently, each constitutes about one third of the marriages in the village. There is some difficulty in obtaining accurate assessments of the frequency of each type because there is an attempt to disguise others as if they were the arranged form which carries the highest prestige.

584 In its ideal form, an arranged marriage is achieved through a process of negotiation between the two families through a matchmaker and the couple do not meet until the wedding day. Even at the engagement, the groom's mother goes to the bride's house and puts the engagement rings on the prospective bride's finger.

• 584 In the veto form, the prospective groom accompanies his parents and the matchmaker to the girl's house and while the adults chat and the girl serves tea and cookies, the boy and girl look each other over or alternatively, they may attend the same affair in separate groups such as a movie while negotiations are in process. Each then has the right to say no but this is rarely so boldly stated. Examples of veto statements include such as, "He doesn't look very strong." "Doesn't he look sickly?" "She looks like she might have expensive tastes." Acceptance statements are, "You know best." "Whatever you think." (See Glossary C.) One recently married village boy vetoed five girls before getting married but now claims to have a fully-arranged marriage. Another claims the same, stating he and his bride first met at the wedding, although both grew up in the same village which had a total population under 400 and both were on the same tag-ball team in school.

Finally, after a couple make a love match, they often go through the whole process of negotiations with a matchmaker as if the proposal was not a foregone conclusion. Love matches are extremely common among older couples or the remarriage of widowers or widows.

591 In terms of residence after marriage, there are three major forms: patrilocal, matrilocal, and neolocal. Patrilocal is most common and still carries the highest prestige. As discussed in Chapter V, matrilocal marriages are more frequent in Sanlei than in Taiwan as a whole. Neolocal

591 marriages are most often of the love type. There is difficulty in assigning individual cases to a type of standard
584 residence categories. For example, in one form of marriage,
591 siaosiv, the girl is adopted as a baby and the future
591 spouses are raised as brother and sister so that when the marriage occurs there is no change of residence for either. The original adoption can not be classified as part of the marriage for at the time of the adoption, the completion of the marriage is not certain. The girl may yet be married out in the same way as a natural daughter.

591 Another problem influencing the classification of residence is related to the time the census is made. There are such limited quantities of land that a son may get a job in town while his father works the farm. His marriage is celebrated in his father's house in the village but he and his wife, who may continue working, establish residence near his job (neolocal). However, when his wife has a child or when his father starts to become feeble, he returns to the village and takes over the farm, living in his father's house (patrilocal). Another example of a problem in classification which depends on the time of the census may be found in the case of an adopted-in husband (matrilocal) who may later establish his own home (neolocal).

582 Another means of classifying marriages is on the basis of the origins of spouses. Aside from the adopted daughter, there is a strong preference for village exogamy

The ritual for a regular marriage is not unlike that described for other parts of Taiwan (Gallin, 1966; Wolf, 1965; Diamond, 1969). In brief, the matchmaker, usually a part-time occupation, completes the negotiations between the two families. A priest to ascertain ritual suitability may be consulted (See Chapter VII). There will usually be a bride price plus gifts totaling nearly $7,000.00 although the bride will bring a dowry which should equal the bride price but rarely does. There are periodic gifts to be exchanged between the two families with the total amount exchanged marking the status of the two families. The engagement ceremony is performed at the bride's house while the bride faces away from her family altar. The wedding, some months later, is at the groom's house where the bride is fetched by the groom's family and friends in the morning. Upon arriving, they first worship while facing the boy's family altar and then retire to the bedroom where they will remain for most of the next three days. During the day they receive guests, coming out only for elimination, a luncheon party for family intimates, and a huge dinner party that night. Guests at dinner bring a monetary gift to pay their share of the cost because before the invitation is extended, everyone is aware of the proper amount. Ten people sit at each rented table and the status of the boy's family is rated by counting the number of tables. After three days, the newlyweds will return to the bride's home for lunch and to report the wedding to her ancestors. The

362 The literature suggests that boys had an easier life
593 than girls. In Sanlei, girls do work harder than boys, but in general, are usually closer emotionally to mother than boys. Fathers seem strained and formal in their interaction with sons and more relaxed with girls; not a few men are quite indulgent towards their daughters. According to Lang (1946:29), "the mother was chia-tze, the symbol of kindness, the father chia-yen, the symbol of dignity and sternness" in the Chinese family.

Children in Sanlei, male and female alike, were ex-
[861] pected to be obedient to parents. Yet, child-rearing techniques tended to be quite permissive and small children often refused to carry out parental commands and the child
• [584] who threw a temper tantrum was ignored. Many young adults refused marriages arranged by parents, a few ran away but quite often, they were able to assert their will and remain
[434] at home. Children who work outside their homes turn over their money to parents at about the same rate whether male
[882] or female. Girls however, tend to be watched more carefully and strictly but most girls are still able to exert considerable influence and control over their own destinies. Many girls show little hesitation to challenge parental decisions as illustrated in connection with the previous discussion of marriage, sex, dating, and work.

The converse of the above would be the relationship between mother and son. It should be obvious that during